123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea, but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende in the bay and the mountains all around. The road is extremely dangerous, especially when the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
361 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende, is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage rules. We also talked a little about a map and the schedule with the assistant. Then we took them back to the kampong. We did nothing more that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a means of getting around. They are all mad over the camera and talk constantly about photographs I should take and give to them. I could easily lose my patience with them. They keep asking for things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But we had to take photographs, and I was almost deluged with requests for more from all sides. I took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me through the interpreter to take her photograph before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a terrible struggle insisting that I could take

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the 487 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, passing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue. [262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go 181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

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764 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression [181] that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 197 771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
●181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 R Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

[i.e., Watu Roga.--Analyst]

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
● [181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
● [181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

243 251 Everywhere around the earthen plaza there are corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 764 769 346 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one though in native style. A large cement covered tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 124 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is the present scribe. The former kapitan has the [181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He 144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 648 634 578 771 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about how the United States is so rich that it must help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this. He also was very troubled about how he was deposed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.

634 166 361 However, the Radja and his group are now moving Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land. There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

● 181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarming" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

Wo

684 231 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 •181 There are no political parties here, not even internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 562 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

War
797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru
● [181] and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[152] ness of the folk stands out, together with their tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one
534 has the better it is for him. A man feels big
556 if his family is large. It is fine to have
857 twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

●181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

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304 178 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a [302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 • 181 The next day I had to bring several people to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

164 We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought 754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old 756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
●181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

377 I am glad I shall be leaving this truly forsaken island before long. It gets on one's
181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

Wai 648 In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move down from the old hill location to the present
361 location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes. [622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual [554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very 123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words [212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could [515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

● 181 123 The last trick of the assistant was to ask for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which 103 Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]